/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
●[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
508 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[627] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
●433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads: the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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encourage the evangelisation of the population, he was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854--Gwolyn]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.'

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital.

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce.

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

large proportion of Christians in the National Assembly. 563
At the time of the break up of the Mali Federation there was some attempt to disparage Senghor because of his religion, but it never gained ground. And whilst there is still in certain quarters some criticism of the presence of a Catholic President, it is not widespread. The fact that neighbouring Gambia's Chief Minister Njie is also a Catholic in a predominantly Muslim country suggests that a tolerance that is so rare amongst Muslim communities may be local to this part of the coast rather than peculiar to Senegal. Senghor himself has been particularly assiduous in his courting of the great Muslim leaders of the country. However French assimilation policy was certainly a contributory factor. Long contact with France and particularly the large number of Senegalese who have studied in France have meant that the modern élite is accustomed to the idea of Catholicism and is able to co-exist with it.

So far the picture we have drawn of modern Senegal is rather an idealised one: a large European minority is tolerated by the African majority and there is remarkably little theoretical or actual animosity towards it; it has a particularly homogeneous population in which traditional ethnic barriers are breaking down, particularly in the major towns which have been most heavily assimilated by France; there is little political friction of ethnic origin and religion does not play an important role in the determination of the country's affairs. Indeed the planning of Senegal's economic development was confided to a Catholic priest not by Senghor, as one might have imagined, but by the Premier, Mamadou Dia, a particularly devout Muslim. In some ways Senegal from a racial and ethnic point of view represents the ideal West African state. But it has its minority problems.

In a sense the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal can be called a minority area, but in many ways it is an economic rather than racial problem. Though the Toucouleur tend to look down on, say, the Wolof, because they do not consider [433] [735]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special
[665] problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

upon to play a historic role will be neither Negro, Berber, nor Arab nations, nor Christian, Muslim, nor animist nations. They will surely be strongly marked by the influence of different biological factors, and by the influence of different philosophies of their environment; but they will be nothing if not a synthesis, if not a civilisation. It is under this condition that they will be truly active element in the post-Marxian revolution of the twentieth century.

Reading the political philosophy of both Senghor and Mamadou Dia, one is tempted to say this humanism is all very admirable but what have such high-flown ideas got to do with a nation of three million poor people still living barely above subsistence level and of whom the majority of adults are still illiterate? Indeed, Senghor the philosopher and poet comes in for criticism by some students of African politics for his advocacy of this cultural cross breeding, for his apparent excessive attachment to the West. Will not, they ask, someone more African, more a politician and less a poet, be more typical of the African politicians of the future? This is perhaps not only to misunderstand Senghor, but also the Senegalese. Senghor may seem to live in the clouds, uttering fine phrases in enviable French, but the last fifteen years have shown him as a masterly political tactician. He broke away from Lamine Guèye and the *S.F.I.O.* to form his own party at just the right psychological moment. And when he felt an end had to be brought to the Mali Federation he accomplished it without shedding one drop of blood, to the surprise not only of foreign observers but particularly of his Soudanese partners. Today opposition to Senghor comes mainly from fellow intellectuals, whilst his standing with the people of the countryside remains high. His opposition is no less inclined to lengthy discourses on the philosophical foundations of the state. Ly Abdoulaye and Assane Seck of the *P.R.A.* are both of the University of Dakar; Majhemout Diop of the *P.A.I.* is a doctrinaire Communist; and Cheikh Anta Diop, as we have seen, has spent most of his Time on the rehabilitation of African history.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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whose economic ideas are well known from various books he has written, more especially his *Nations africaines et solidarité mondiale* and *Réflexions sur l'économie de l'Afrique noire*. Dia is essentially a socialist, who believes however that European socialism could never really identify itself with Africa, because, as he points out, so much of the improvement in the living conditions of European workers was founded on the economic expansion resulting from nineteenth and twentieth-century colonialism. And he remarks bitterly that even today one sixth of the world's population, mainly white, enjoys 80 per cent of the world's income. He feels that political liberation is nothing without economic liberation and that this is the great challenge to the young states of Africa. He does not believe in any tailor-made answer to this challenge, whether it be Communist or Western in origin. The Senegalese answer must be based on Senegalese realities, taking into account the experience of other underdeveloped countries, in which he is well versed.

This explains the eighteen-month long 'inventory' made by Father Lebret and his team of every aspect of Senegalese life. Dia sees one of the greatest dangers of Africa in its present economic balkanisation, dangers which provide economic backing to political demands for African unity. Dakar's many industries were of course planned to serve the former French West Africa and are now at the mercy of the individual economic policies of its seven French-speaking neighbours. Such a situation will make it impossible for large scale and rational economic development. Nor does he see in industrialisation the solution to all the country's problems. Indeed the basic problem is the raising of the general standard of living of the country, particularly of those areas that lag behind the rest. Above all he is not going to follow slavishly the ideas of the West or the East. Senegal's development is to be undertaken in the light of Senegal's own problems

This then is the background to the impressive and far

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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433 668 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are [474] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com- [369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the [871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the [491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·6	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·9	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 654 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag- [496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

5; Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme.

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 3,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing.

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more.

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry.

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions).

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways.

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases.

/76 cont./

369 441 563 443 local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369 433 458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471] [563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 498 433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 [162] [511] [361] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

[162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
●433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/," Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

18: Savonnet--21 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
Thies

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has re-
433 mained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the pro-
[563] ducer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the
[442] Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563] 9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257] 10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

442 443 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between [433] 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they [563] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to [162] corner both the European and native clientele. They special- [438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans: [191] babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They [347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[317] [464] [162]

1 [ie, by "door step" merchants - ANALYST]

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463

workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433

Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433

Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464

The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

/5/

244 433 Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

[113]

1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/, P.U.F. 1960.

177 244 The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

/6/
496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
311

I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

244
[433] The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
[418] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity.

/7/

S 244 generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian 244 landscape.

W 244 1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. S W [433] In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113]

2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

/9 cont./

244 407 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and [648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have [167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the [433] economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the 244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from 166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the 464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers [427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 433 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are characterized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, PP. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/11 cont./

244 654 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company [177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative [433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

795 244 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless, [654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

/14/
of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of [redacted] Senegalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

For a century the total volume of production has progressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer, as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period

/22 cont./

258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the [435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société électrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the
[439] country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

/23 cont./

433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

/24 cont./

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433

then that of the franc zone, the groundnut of Senegal was traded outside of the world market for the product and could be integrated into it only at the cost of serious disturbances, as a consequence of its very high market price, to these practices when the transactions were made in foreign markets. In 1959, after the two successive devaluations in 1957 and 1958, the French consumer again consented to a sacrifice of 27 old domestic francs per kilo of decorticated groundnuts from Senegal in relation to the world price of the product. From this figure one can deduce that the passage of the Senegalese groundnut into the world circuit would be expressed by a lowering of nearly 30 % of the value of the harvest, that is, of the monetary revenue of the producers, and by a perceptible diminution of the fiscal receipts, if one presupposes the suppression of certain duties, in order to bring together as much as possible the local export price and the world price. The suppression of the private traders and of their margin of profit and the sale of food products or of foreign manufactures at a price lower than that of similar French products, which one can envisage in case of a rupture, do not seem capable of compensating for the lack of gain to the producer no longer benefiting from stable supported prices. In fact, the system of a free association between the Senegalese producer and the French buyer, and for the former a regime of stability and supported prices, and guaranteed sales, would seem to be the wisest solution.

The other problem is that of the existence of the European Common Market, of which France is a member. By virtue of the agreements of Venice of March 1956, an association with the overseas territories of the member nations is anticipated by Article 131 of the treaties. Although the reservations of some African politicians, non-signatories of the treaties, seem justified, nothing remains except that the treaty of Rome seems to offer some interesting prospects for the Senegalese economy. The five partners of France are hardly interested in the groundnuts of Senegal for various reasons. Federal Germany and The Netherlands purchase oleagineous materials at a low price on the world market in the

/24 cont./

439 433 framework of their commercial activities. Moreover, they are especially great consumers of margarine. Belgium /25/ is concerned about protecting its daily herds and, up to now, the products of the Congo. Finally, Italy gives priority to olive oil. In fact the coincidence of the French shortage of oleaginous materials and the largely excess production of Senegal can lead, within the spirit of the treaty and without contradiction, from the common policy anticipated for certain agricultural products (Art. 39) to the definition of the groundnut as a basic French oleaginous commodity, with the formation of a support fund maintained essentially by France. M. Adler concludes: "On the one side there is sought a product that on the other side no one wants" (5).

[113]

5. Adler, J., "Le Mali et l'archide /Mali and the groundnut/," Marches tropicaux, No. 745, 20 February 1960, pp. 497-498.

On the other hand it seems that in the case of union Senegal could anticipate, through the increasing competition between the local products of the six member countries, an appreciable lowering of the price of articles imported from Europe, from which there is a possibility of an increase in the purchasing power of the groundnut producer, in any case assured of getting a stable income from his harvest, except in the case of very serious natural calamities.

In conclusion it seems, as M. Barbier emphasizes, that for Senegal in the present circumstances the policy of bigamy is preferable to that of divorce.

Yves Pehaut.

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369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

[508] The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/380 cont./

at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] [491] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C.F.A.O., the S.C.O.Z., the B.A.O., and the B.C.A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various
[162] elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present population may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

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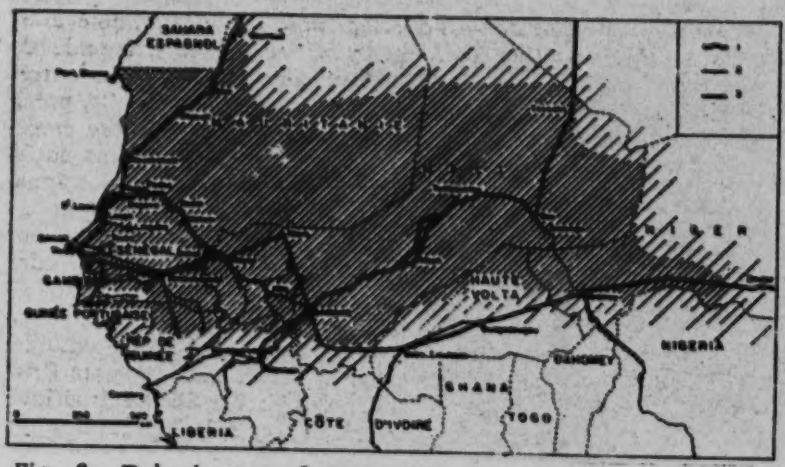

Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

/392 cont./

369 condemnation.

433 Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same
439 instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already
[505] strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113]

25. Nicolas, J. -P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America, Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

/392 cont./

369 economic relations between Senegal and Sudan, or better, in
433 the eventuality of the formation of a West African common
439 market, the role of collection which has perpetuated the superiority of Dakar is today threatened by decline because of the nationalism of the states and their desire to convert their own products locally. It therefore seems that salvation for this metropolis in a virtual crisis is not in an illusory rebirth of its former role, but in a new and unequivocal orientation of its activities. It should no longer be a pole of suction, but become a pole of development of the hinterland.

Assane Seck.

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[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

505 [648] *River.* Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 [31] [62] 489 [712] [648] [654] [508] [697] [498] [654]

DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteorological station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

361 [433] Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from Southampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

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Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation.

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line.

There are several trade unions.

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port.

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels.

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some

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[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide.

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970).

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week.

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06'; 16° 29' W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post.

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality.

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications.

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet.

FATIK (14° 18'; 16° 27' W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage.

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine.

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts.

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne.

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

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Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing varieties *souna* and *samio* are the most popular, the former thriving in sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in comparison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a waterproof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets.

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

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sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

Sisal. Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

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tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

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3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, and of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisaged a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar–St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an inauspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

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was at Koussanar, and when war came in 1914 it had reached a place called Cotiari Naoudé, 258 miles from Thiès. In 1920 a force of 8,000 labourers was recruited, and the line was completed on 5 August 1923.

Branch Lines. Work on the branch from Guinguiné to Kaolack began on 6 June 1911, and the line was officially opened on 1 January 1912. This railway, of course, has transformed Kaolack and has been the prime factor in its growth to its present importance. The private line from Kaolack to Lyndiane was built by the firm of Charles Peyrissac et Cie in 1925.

The line from Diourbel was originally planned to go to Tal-Tal and Thiel. Construction began on 1 December 1929, and the line reached Touba on 1 March 1931. Financial difficulties postponed further extension, and nothing more has been done up to the present. This branch has proved valuable to local producers of ground-nuts and has been more successful than its contemporary to Linguéré.

This latter was begun from Louga early in 1920 and reached Coki (18½ miles) on 1 October that year. Railhead was at Dahra on 1 October 1930 and the whole line was finished on 1 October 1931. Results have not been quite as good as had been hoped.

Permanent Way, Locomotives, and Rolling-stock

Rails and Sleepers. The section from Dakar to St. Louis has rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard) bought second-hand from the Nord Railway of France in 1929, and that from Thiès to Kayes has rails weighing 25 kg. and 26 kg. per metre (50½ lb. and 52½ lb. per yard). The track from Kayes to Koulikoro was originally laid with rails weighing 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard) and was notorious for its numerous rail breakages; but it is now in process of being relaid on a new alinement with rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard). The Louga–Linguéré branch was given the old rails from the Dakar–St. Louis line. These weigh 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard).

Sleepers are of steel.

Gradients and Curvature. These vary considerably, but there are no gradients steeper than 1:30, and the minimum radius of curves is 197 yards. It is intended ultimately to reduce these figures to 1:71 and 219 yards respectively.

Bridges. The principal bridges are noted in the itineraries below. Minor bridges are of steel and concrete, and in many cases old rails are used as reinforcing bars. Culverts are numerous.

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633 [647] instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and post office. The various administrative services are represented there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agriculture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

• 433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] [491] [505] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and [439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

651

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 [875] [872] /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children by French and native teachers. There is a regional school with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

½ [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

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244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.

[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

● 433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the [496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it

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491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 505 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant village. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 433 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/ extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

498 504 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

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Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

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Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61, 265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	17,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 505 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927, but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 439 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

244 433 [434] The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut. This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

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244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composition which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

These results are due in part to the increase in the population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

The credit for this work is to be given to the administration, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/118 cont./

244 433 242 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the [412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural [654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 433 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress. The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1925, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

/119 cont./ [433] [243] production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely consumed on the spot.

[244] [474] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] [654] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

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433 Truck gardening. Truck gardens exist in the major
244 centers. This is still, however, a European crop, the native
242 consuming very little of our vegetables.

An experimental garden, or rather a nursery, was set up in Kaolack about 20 years ago. This nursery provided many tree plants for the Europeans and natives (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, Gambia, mahogany, silk-cotton trees, orange trees, lemon trees, and guava trees).

[648] /121/ European crops. Concessions. No agricultural colonization has been undertaken by Europeans except at Latmingué.

In 1920, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale requested a concession of 200 hectares at Latmingué, 20 kilometers southeast of Kaolack, very near the Saloum, in order to conduct experiments on the mechanical cultivation of groundnuts. Improvements were made for four years. Improved agricultural equipment was used (tractors, gang plows, mechanical seeders, pulverizers, harrow-plows, and pickers). The tests made it possible to get an idea of the advantages of mechanical cultivation of the groundnut. The shortage of manpower, however, was an obstacle to extending the cultivation. The Compagnie Française abandoned this concession, which was recovered and expanded by the Société des Plantations of Latmingué, which now exploits it. The latter cultivates manioc exclusively. It has already cleared 200 hectares and planted 270 hectares in manioc. It is trying to cultivate this plant annually in nine months instead of 18. This development should be watched with interest. The needs of the mother country for manioc are considerable, and Senegal would find there another source of economic prosperity.

233 Animal husbandry. Pasturage is abundant, especially during the rainy season. It is sufficient to raise large herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Epidemics, however, decimate the cattle, which vary between 250,000 and 300,000 heads. During the dry season, the problem of animal fodder is doubled by the difficulty of finding water for the

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233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] [654] [492] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions. [342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda partitions. [435] The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 ●433 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

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317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
[651] Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
463 basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
[326] up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are, moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
258 dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
[648] groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart. Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

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	Kaolack	Foundiougne	Totals (1)
1921		73,885 t.	73,885 t.
1922	29,192 t.	79,882	109,074
1923	75,503	36,954	112,457
1924	90,421	39,221	129,633
1925	110,787	52,986	163,773
1926	135,899	58,271	194,170
1927	134,947	51,808	186,755

1. Kaolack, up to 1922, had no customs office. It was Foundiougne which centralized all the operations.

To the above figures must be added those for the port of Saboya which we gave above.

On the whole, the tonnage of groundnuts exported by way of the ports of the circle was 198,000 tons in 1926; in 1927, 191,000 tons, or 40% of the /125/ total exports of groundnuts from Senegal. It should be noted that in 1906 the tonnage exported amounted to only 31,000 tons.

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433 The production of the circle being 140,000 tons, the difference over that comes from the harvest of the regions of Baol, Tambacounda, and the Sudan, which is shipped to Kaolack and Foundiougne. If one compares these figures with the production of 1913, which was 60,000 tons, one sees how much progress has marked the cultivation of groundnuts.

Imports and exports combined make the general commerce of the circle reach close to 300,000 tons at present.

651 Customs receipts. The Kaolack customs office took in as receipts the sum of 13,901,810 francs in 1927.

The one at Foundiougne, 4,001,249 francs.

Or a total of 17,903,059 francs.

If one adds to this the receipts from Saboya and those from the frontier posts of the Gambia, the total receipts exceed 18 million francs. We are far from the figure for 1905: 405,000 francs.

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653 For Kaolack, M. Boyer found water at a depth of 95 meters. Moreover, the municipality of this city had also made investigations whose results were interesting. Excellent water was found at a depth of only 15 meters, with a volume of about 500 cubic meters per day. This quantity is not enough to supply the city of Kaolack. It is necessary to find 1,000 cubic meters, and this is what the government of Senegal and the mixed commune are working on.

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Conclusion

●433 Twenty years ago M. Camille Guy, then governor of Senegal, wrote in a study of Sine-Saloum: "There is no doubt but that Sine-Saloum is a rich country which could produce much more than it produces, that ten years ago it entered an era of prosperity which is accentuated year by year, and that, at the expense of the picturesque and original, it has become a region of Senegal for which the future is full of promises, some of which are now on the way to realization and others are incalculable" (1).

1. Cf. La Géographie, 1908. "Le Sine-Saloum," by M. Camille Guy.

The facts have confirmed this appraisal. In fact, in the economic realm, the results reached the forecasts of the most optimistic. The agricultural, commercial, and even industrial development can only be accentuated in the near future. Aided by official business advisors and by the local administrative bodies, the high administration has grasped the importance of the region and the value of the port of Kaolack. The sacrifices authorized by public finances have already borne fruit. They can only accelerate the economic progress of the region as soon as the program of works planned and at present underway is accomplished.